

# The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 14, 1875.

## The Week.

GENERAL SHERIDAN seems on the whole to have been a singular person to select for the duty of pacifying a disturbed district or reconciling opposing political factions. He arrived in New Orleans on or about the 1st inst., and found himself at once in presence of a political problem of so much complexity that for over three years it has puzzled both the Government and the country, and has resisted several investigations. Nevertheless, on the 4th, or three days later, he had, although a cavalry officer who has passed most of his life in the field, mastered it sufficiently to recommend certain legislation about it to Congress, which he did promptly by telegraph, thus outdoing McClellan at Harrison's Landing in 1862, as the latter at least developed his views on the political situation in a written letter. General Sheridan, however, seems not to have been entirely sure of the necessity of waiting for legislation, for he suggested in the same despatch that the object in view might also be accomplished by a proclamation from the President. His plan consisted in declaring by a general act of attainder, or by proclamation of outlawry, a large and indefinite body of citizens to be "banditti," and handing them over to Sheridan himself, to be dealt with by military methods. We can recall no precedents in modern history for this scheme, except the letting loose of Claverhouse's dragoons on the Scotch Covenanters, and of Louis XIV.'s on the French Huguenots, and we can safely say, that at no time within the present century would a general in any country in Europe, except Russia, have dared to send such a despatch to his Government, or that, if he had, the Government would either have suppressed it, and privately rebuked him, or have published it, and openly punished him; and saying this, we bear in mind the Napoleonic decree of December 8, 1851, which made liable to seizure and banishment to Cayenne all persons who had ever belonged to secret societies. Our Secretary of War, however, warmly approved of it.

Sheridan's subsequent despatches are in keeping with the first one. In a report on the occurrences attending the attempt to organize the legislature on the 4th inst., and of which he had only hearsay information, he not only recites facts, but gives conclusions of law with an assurance worthy of Mr. O'Connor or Mr. Evarts. He decides off-hand that Mr. Wiltz's taking the chair was "an arbitrary and unlawful proceeding" and "revolutionary action," and that the address of the Radical members to the Governor, asking him to intervene, was "reasonable and in accordance with law"; and he justifies the compliance of the military commander with the Governor's request to furnish troops to take part in the organization of the legislature on the ground that somebody (we suppose the officer in question, he does not say who), "remembered a terrible massacre on the assembling of the Constitutional Convention in 1866 at the Mechanics' Institute," and "believed that the lives of the members of the legislature would be endangered in case an organization under the law was attempted." He decides, too, that the persons who were expelled from the floor "under directions from the Governor of the State," "had been illegally seated, and had no legal right to be there"; and he closes by pronouncing Wiltz, the speaker, "a usurper." According to these rulings, the Governor of any State has a right to call upon the Federal troops to occupy a State House in anticipation of the meeting of the legislature, and if the commanding officer can "remember" any riot or massacre as ever having occurred in the State capital or in the neighborhood, and "believes," or says he believes, there will be bloodshed, he is justified in sending soldiers into the House to determine the qualifications of the members.

Considering that it is a little over fourteen years since the outbreak of the war, it must be admitted, in view of the above, and of Mr. Boutwell's issues of paper-money, that we have got on pretty rapidly. At this pace, we shall probably see it maintained by the year 1890 that the President has the right to inflict capital punishment with his own hand on all persons whose behavior in his immediate view and presence leads him to believe they may subsequently become dangerous to the public peace. In fact, Sheridan's despatches about his own safety and "the impregnation of the air with assassination," down in Louisiana, recall the English traveller's story, that President Monroe wore his hair cut close to the skull during his term of office to protect him against being gouged. There are numerous stories, of which at this writing we are able to say no more than that they seem probable, that the Cabinet is divided in sentiment about the Louisiana affair, and that Secretaries Fish, Bristow, and Jewell disapprove of the use made of the troops in Louisiana; and we may add that, if this be true, the line of division lies just where we should, on general grounds, have expected it to lie. The President's course it would be difficult to predict. In fact, one of the great difficulties of this and all other embarrassing situations during the past two years, lies in the fact that the very obstinacy of temper which made him so formidable in the field, now, when combined with the self-confidence bred by his re-election and the flattery of his adherents, not only makes him impervious to public opinion, but makes all criticism of him seem an act of insolent hostility, to be punished or defied. The newspapers, too, which in this as in other free States are the only channels as yet provided through which public sentiment finds vent, he looks on very much as Prince Metternich looked on them, as pestilent nuisances, to be borne with if necessary, but not heeded. We cannot now recall any prediction of ours about his course which turned out false, and have never in the least shared the more extravagant anticipations of his enemies; and we cannot help believing that he will, with his growing infirmities of temper, give cause for a good deal of trouble and anxiety, in his character of "a plain, blunt man," or "a simple-minded, sagacious man," before his term of office expires.

One of the most striking features of these Louisiana troubles is the remarkably novel nature of the justifications and explanations brought forward by the President and his military advisers whenever they are accused of violating the Constitution and laws. The gist of the complaint made against them is that they have committed illegal acts, and to this they reply, not that the acts are legal, but in some one of the following ways: 1st. They say they would not have done them had not the persons whose persons or property they have wronged belonged to the class known as "ex-rebels," who, fifteen years ago, engaged in a "fratricidal war." 2d. They say that a general state of excitement and domestic violence exists, which cannot be quieted in any other way than by the commission of high crimes and misdemeanors. 3d. On being asked to point out some of the excitement, they generally produce a list of murders said to have been committed in remote districts and in former years by persons not connected in any way with the case in hand; the evidence of these murders generally being a statement by somebody or other that in certain parts of the country there prevails what General Sheridan calls a "standpoint" which "renders life insecure." 4th. They ask, if the people did not want to have the President commit unlawful and unconstitutional acts upon them, why did they "call him in"? 5th. On being reminded that, in the first instance, the people of Louisiana did not "call him in" at all, but that he called himself in, and with a number of soldiers has kept himself in ever since by main force, they say that this was done because Louisiana was not

reconstructed. 6th. On being reminded that all the other States are reconstructed, and that this is a question between Congress and the State, they say "that is very true; that is just what they have maintained all along." General Sheridan is now understood to be at work upon a list of murders.

The meeting at the Cooper Institute on Monday evening to protest against the interference in Louisiana was large and enthusiastic—or, to put it more accurately, indignant. The speeches, dealing as they necessarily did with a long history of facts difficult to follow, were of a grave character, and the tone of the meeting was more serious and less emotional than a public political meeting is apt to be. The assemblage was rather Democratic than Republican—so far as the distinction of parties can be said now to exist in this city; that is to say, many of the men principally concerned in organizing it were known and are still known as Democrats. On the other hand, neither the temper of the crowded audience nor the tone of the speakers was partisan, and the resolutions adopted were confined to a single point—the illegal acts complained of. A meeting of the same kind, but still more Republican in complexion, will be held in Boston to-morrow night.

Since the holidays, Congress has been mainly occupied with the Louisiana case, and has not succeeded in accomplishing much business. On Tuesday of last week, in the Senate, Mr. Thurman, of Ohio, introduced a resolution calling on the President for information as to the interference by the United States army in the organization of the Louisiana Legislature, which led to a protracted debate, Mr. Conkling, on behalf of the Republicans, insisting on the adoption of an amendment, to the effect that the President should furnish the information "if in his judgment it is not incompatible with the public interest." On Friday, Mr. Schurz submitted a resolution of enquiry concerning the legislation necessary to secure self-government for Louisiana, and on Monday supported it in one of his incomparable speeches, perhaps the last great effort of his Congressional career, and in all respects a fitting termination of it. In the House the members occupied themselves on Wednesday with Louisiana, and Irwin was arraigned for contempt, and, still refusing to answer the questions addressed to him, was remanded for custody to the common jail. The next day the Senate Finance Bill passed the House under the previous question by a vote of 136 to 98. Mr. Maynard, who had charge of the bill, was accused, apparently with reason, of treachery to the other members of the Banking and Currency Committee. On the same day, the resolutions of impeachment in the case of Durell and Busted were laid on the table, and General Butler introduced a bill providing for a new election in Louisiana under the auspices of the Federal Government.

The Pacific Mail enquiry still goes on, and, notwithstanding Irwin's refusal to testify, some interesting though not surprising facts have been brought out. Mr. R. C. Parsons has acknowledged the receipt of some thirteen or fourteen thousand dollars, which were paid him, he says, for legal services, the examination of statistics, and arguments. Mr. Schumaker, who declares his services to have been of a legal character, has given an account of his two hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars, and has confused matters and blackened his own character by his unintelligible explanation. \$50,000 of it he paid to a certain General Smith, and almost all the rest of it he said he returned to the Company. The great event of the week, however, among the lobbyists, who take a keen and increasing interest in the investigation, has been the refusal of one Abert to tell what he did with some \$100,000 paid to him by Irwin. He fortified his refusal with an opinion of Reverdy Johnson's, to the effect that, being a lawyer, he had no right to disclose the confidential communications of his client Irwin. The confidential communications which he felt a delicacy about revealing were in reality the names of the persons to whom Irwin had told

him to pay the money, and the professional stand taken by Mr. Abert no doubt filled certain gentlemen in Washington with a pleasure almost as great as, and at the same time less selfish than, the satisfaction they manifested a few days before on learning that "old Bill King had been smoked out at last." Indeed, Mr. Abert's position, if sustained, would have rendered it only necessary for any member of the lobby to be enrolled as a member of the bar to enable him to begin at once a career of unparalleled and unblushing corruption, without danger of any human accountability. But Abert, apparently feeling that prudence is the better part of honor as well as of valor, shortly afterwards gave the names to the House. According to this statement, he paid the money, in amounts varying from \$500 to \$25,000, to persons connected with the press, \$45,000; ex-Postmaster General Randall, \$5,500; R. C. Parsons, \$1,500; ex-Mayor J. G. Berrett, "for himself and Sam. Ward," \$7,000; O. J. Averill, ex-collector of internal revenue, \$9,000; besides large sums to "operators," door-keepers, and so on. Mr. McFarland, a correspondent of the *Philadelphia Press*, received \$25,000, but swears that he received it for and at once paid it to Col. Forney. The door-keepers have not yet been thoroughly examined.

The first messages of Mayor Wickham and Governor Tilden are refreshing documents, and the former had the advantage of appearing on the heels of the recent official action which had relieved the city of the services of some very worthless public servants, and therefore seems an earnest of more work of the same kind. The latest descent of Mr. Wickham has been upon Mr. E. Delafield Smith, the Corporation Counsel. Whether the technical ground on which the Mayor proposes to remove him—that he has been guilty of egregious failure to protect the city against the fraudulent claims by the proper legal means—is tenable, we do not profess to know, though we have our suspicions; but this we do know—that the bar of the city will breathe a sigh of relief when he is gone, and welcome with profound satisfaction the appointment of an honest, capable, and competent successor. In his message to the Common Council, the Mayor does a thing which we believe has not usually before been tried in communications of this kind, and it is an experiment which will turn out, even as a mere political device, highly successful—he tells the truth about the city. As to the finances, for example, he frankly states to the city legislature that neither he nor any one else knows the exact condition of affairs, and he also says that he considers this bad, and will do all in his power to put an end to it. He discusses all the subjects of which his message treats in a frank and decided way, which has won him already the substantial approval of the press and the public. Mr. Tilden's message is an able state-paper. He discusses among other things, with a peculiar fulness of information, the difficulties which in this and probably other States have attended all attempts to recover public money stolen under the forms of law by local public officers like Tweed. He points out that as the local officers who are entrusted with prosecuting the thieves generally or frequently do the thieving themselves, the prosecutions in such cases are not likely to be effective, and therefore suits against them ought to be maintainable on the general principles for equity jurisprudence by the State itself. The Court of Appeals has, in what we must say is a very extraordinary decision, held that such suits are not maintainable, and the legislature certainly ought to take some steps in the matter.

Mr. Albert Grant, or, as he is now called, "Baron Grant," under a German title, who is the London equivalent of Jay Gould, and the promoter of all sorts of companies on the London market whose stock is difficult to float, and was the principal engineer of the Emma Mine scheme, has come before the courts in a curious way. One Rubery, who planned the diamond swindle in California, got up a company in London to work the diamond fields. The enterprise was, however, severely denounced in the money article of the *London Times* by Mr. Sampson, for many years and until very



recently the "city editor" of that paper. Rubery thereupon sued Mr. Sampson personally, and not the paper, for libel, and joined Baron Grant in the action, on the ground that it was he who had inspired the libels, and evidently relied on his threat of exposing the relations between Sampson and Grant to bring about a settlement without going into court. The two defendants stood fire, however, and the *Times* defended the suits. Rubery produced in court checks to the amount of \$15,000 which Grant had at various times paid to Sampson, and which a clerk of the former had been bribed to steal, and Grant was forced on cross-examination to explain that the money had been paid to recoup Sampson's losses on the stock of various new companies in which Grant was in the habit of allotting him shares. The rule which governed their dealings was that if the shares thus allotted rose, Sampson pocketed the profit; if they fell, Grant paid him the amount of the loss. The affair has caused great scandal in "journalistic circles," and is a fresh illustration of the enormous difficulty of getting the money articles of a great newspaper honestly written by a man competent to write them. The temptations of the position seem to be more than the supply of virtue thus far found in the male sex of the Caucasian race is equal to.

One of the modes in which Rubery tried to bring Grant to terms was by threatening to send a telegram to each director of the Emma Mining Company, asking him "if he was aware that Albert Grant, late of the *Crédit Foncier*, was the moving spirit and chief partner in the Emma Mine, and that his connection therewith would be exposed on Monday?" and counsel declared in court that this threat was indictable, as an attempt to extort blackmail. Apropos of this low view of the Emma Mine, a Baltimore correspondent writes to us to say that there is a gentleman in that city "whose personal character, intelligence, property, and sources of information are such as to command respect and confidence for any statements he may make, and who asserts that General Schenck was never a director of the Emma Mining Co., and that he held no official relation to it whatever; that he was merely a stockholder, having purchased and paid for shares, for which he subscribed under representations made to him by parties who brought him introductions, and that he never was a willing party to any subsequent use of his name in connection with the Emma Mine; and that he was in fact a victim of and not in any sense a party to the swindle."

As this means that the *Nation* has gone on for two years denouncing General Schenck on charges which have not a particle of foundation, we shall now take leave to warn the citizens of Baltimore against the gentleman above-mentioned as a reckless and untrustworthy person, whose "intelligence and property," instead of doing him credit, ought to make him ashamed. The prospectus of the Emma Mining Co., which now lies before us, and which was published for many weeks in the London papers, contains the name of "Major-General Robert C. Schenck, United States Minister, London," in big letters in the list of directors. Worse still: the same name appears as that of one of the three "trustees" of the swindle. Moreover, when the London *Economist* and other English papers had commented in sharp terms on the scandal of a foreign Minister's allowing his name to be used in this way, General Schenck, after the shares had, on the strength of his name, gone off in a few weeks, resigned these two offices, in a letter which was printed in all the papers, in which he expressed strongly his continued confidence in the mine. Lastly, on being followed up by one of the stockholders, Mr. Paffard, who has published a pamphlet about the transaction, the General admitted to this gentleman that he had no money to pay for his shares himself, but had to borrow it from a friend; and we will add that the general belief in London is that the friend was one of the promoters of the mine, and that the stock was allotted to him on the same terms as those on which Baron Grant allotted stock to Mr. Sampson—in short, that

the General has not lost one cent by the mine, while Grant, Park, Stewart & Co. have made millions.

Apropos of the controversy over the civil allegiance of Catholics which Mr. Gladstone raised, and which still rages, M. Emile de Laveleye, the well-known economist, publishes a letter in the London *Times* recalling a curious incident of recent modern history which well illustrates how completely the relations of the Catholic Church to the state are regulated by necessity—that is, they are everywhere and always, in spite of the lofty demeanor of the bishops, what the people of any particular state insist that they shall be—a fact which of itself goes far to justify Bismarck's crusade. In 1815, the King of Holland and Belgium gave his kingdom a constitution embodying the usual modern guarantees of freedom—amongst others, complete religious freedom, equal legal protection for all creeds, and equal eligibility of persons of all denominations to public office. The Catholic bishops of Belgium thereupon met and condemned the constitution in a "doctrinal judgment," and caused its rejection in the Assembly of Notables by 798 to 527. M. Laveleye reproduces this judgment textually, and in it the bishops declare that any person who took the oaths prescribed by the constitution would "commit a great crime, and betray the dearest interests of his religion," inasmuch as the articles guaranteeing religious liberty and offering equal protection to persons of all creeds, are really an offer to put truth and error on the same footing; inasmuch as the article making persons of all creeds eligible for all offices might result "in confiding the interests of the Catholic faith to Protestant functionaries"; and inasmuch as the article which provides that the King "should see to it that all denominations were kept in the obedience due to the laws of the kingdom," "was to give the sovereign the right of obliging the clergy and the faithful to obey all the laws of the state, of whatever nature they might be—that is, to render them liable to co-operate in the enslavement of the Catholic Church," and, in fact, "subject the spiritual to the caprices of the secular power." In 1830, after the revolt of the Belgian provinces from Holland, the Liberals carried a constitution containing all the features which the bishops found so objectionable in 1815, and then, as there was no other resource, the Pope discharged an encyclical letter at them. In short, the church puts up with modern ideas when it is compelled to do so by physical force, but not sooner or otherwise. It curses and struggles until the policeman arrives, and then submits and pretends that it always liked what it had been blaspheming.

On the 6th inst. President MacMahon sent a message to the Assembly, again urging Constitutional legislation, including provision for the creation of a Second Chamber, to which he attaches great importance, and for the maintenance of the Septennat in case of his own death before the expiration of his term of office, and suggesting that, when the Second Chamber was created, both could decide upon the form of government to succeed the Septennat. The ministers accordingly put the Constitutional bills on "the order of the day," and M. Batbie moved for the consideration of the Second Chamber Bill first, but his motion was defeated by a large majority, made up of all parties, though it was subsequently decided that the Constitutional bills together should come up for debate on Monday, the 11th. The Cabinet, however, took its defeat so much to heart that it resigned, and Marshal MacMahon refused to accept their resignation until he could form a new one, and asked the Duc de Broglie to undertake this task; and it was generally supposed in Paris that he would act on a dissolution programme. He has, however, informed the President that he cannot take office until the Constitutional bills have passed; pending this, the present Ministry remains in office, and it is believed that MacMahon himself will then press for a dissolution. Whether he can bring it about, however, is, as we intimated last week, very doubtful. The certainty that the larger portion of them would, in case of a dissolution, have to retire into private life, will of course exert a powerful influence on the sitting members.

## THE LAW AND THE FACTS IN LOUISIANA.

WE wish it were possible to discover some excuse, we will not say for the recent interference of the Federal troops with the organization of the legislature in Louisiana—of course subordinate military commanders are everywhere liable to make mistakes—but for the failure of the President and his Cabinet to telegraph prompt disavowal and rebuke of it as soon as the news reached them. But we have, after diligent search, been unable to light upon anything that can put a good face on it, and we propose now to lay before our readers what we honestly believe to be the pertinent facts of the case, without extenuation or malice. It is, in the first place, to be observed that the situation in Louisiana which led to the recent events cannot have taken the Government in Washington by surprise. The situation is in all essential features more than three years old. The character and relations of the principal actors in it have been long known. The liability, in particular, of the United States troops to be used for unlawful or improper purposes by one of the contending factions, is a fact which was brought home to the President in 1872. In that year, the Kellogg faction procured an order from a United States judge, and called on the Federal troops to execute it, and under it these troops took possession of the State House and organized the State legislature, admitting nobody to the Assembly but such persons as the United States Marshal pointed out. This order was examined by a committee of the Senate and pronounced "reprehensible and wholly void" on its face, and all the proceedings taken under it null and outrageous. Moreover, the impeachment of the judge who issued it was recommended by a committee of the House, and he resigned office to escape trial, and has lately in this city denounced his own acts himself and thrown the blame of them on "the politicians."

The President was, therefore, fully aware of the special dangers of the crisis at New Orleans, but seems to have taken no precautions against the repetition of the occurrences of 1872, and to have issued no fresh instructions to the military officers more exactly defining their duties. Accordingly, when the day came for the new legislature to meet, Kellogg seems to have been still under the impression that he could have the assistance of the troops in "controlling" it, as the politicians say, and the troops seem to have received no warning as to the nature and extent of their relations to him.

Now, it will not do to say that he or they supposed that the proclamation issued by the President on the 15th of September, directed against the persons who had overturned the Government by force of arms, was still in force. That proclamation was called forth by a state of things which had totally ceased to exist. The "domestic violence" which had justified it was at an end. Kellogg was again in possession of his government, and his officers again at their posts; an election had been held for the State officers; the lawful Returning Board had counted the votes; and the committee sent down by Congress was peaceably sitting in New Orleans enquiring into the political condition of the State, for the information of the United States legislature. There was no disturbance or disorder of any kind. Kellogg had made no fresh call for Federal aid, and the civil police were not resisted, and the courts were sitting, and the legislature which, and not the Governor—as Mr. Evarts forcibly pointed out at the meeting last Monday night—constitutes the State government, could be and was convened. In short, the state of things had all the marks and tokens of peace, as that term is used by the Constitution and the laws. If crime was rife, it was crime of a kind with which the State government is competent and bound to deal. Nevertheless, preparation was made for the meeting of the legislature by occupying the State House with Federal troops and preparing it for a siege, and the members actually entered it through lines of sentries.

Under these circumstances, the Returning Board, after two months' examination, made out a list of persons elected members of the General Assembly. Our belief is that that list was fraudulent, but for the purposes of this discussion we are willing to admit that was honest and correct. We would warn the reader who has ac-

companied us thus far, however, against the supposition that there is anything novel or mysterious about this Board, or that there is anything in its functions which makes the organization of the legislature in Louisiana a process in any way peculiar, or takes it from under the ordinary rules of parliamentary law. The Returning Board differs in no essential point from the Board of State Canvassers in this State, except that it has the power of enquiry into the regularity of the election. It simply "canvasses and compiles" the statements of votes sent in by the Commissioners of Election, decides *prima facie* who have been lawfully elected to the General Assembly, and makes out a list of them. At this point the Louisiana statute of 1872 does differ somewhat from our law. It provides that the Secretary of State shall transmit to the Clerk of the House of Representatives of the last legislature the list of persons so declared duly elected by the Board, and directs the Clerk to place the names of the persons so returned as elected on the roll of the House, and declares that "the representatives whose names have thus been placed on this roll, and none others, shall be competent to organize the House of Representatives." But a similar arrangement exists in Massachusetts, as well as in other States. In Massachusetts, the Secretary of State delivers a similar list to the Sergeant-at-Arms, who admits the persons named on it to the House, of course excluding all others, and they, and they only, are competent to organize the House, under the presidency of the senior member present.

Now, what rights usually enjoyed by legislatures in this country and in England under parliamentary law did this provision of the Louisiana statute take away from the Louisiana House of Representatives? None—absolutely none. Article 34 of the State constitution of 1868 provides in the usual form that "each House of the General Assembly shall judge of the qualification, election, and return of its members, but contested elections shall be determined in such manner as may be prescribed by law." Section 35 authorizes the House to "determine its rules of procedure, and punish members guilty of disorderly conduct." In other words, the constitution simply confirms the immemorial usage of parliamentary bodies, in according to the legislature the power absolutely necessary, as the experience of one thousand years has proved, to its dignity, its independence, and the proper discharge of its duties.

Perhaps, however, somebody will say, this power has been curtailed by the law above indicated prescribing "the manner of determining contested elections." Nothing of the kind. This law is to be found in Section 1,417 of the Revised Statutes of 1870, which provides "that, in all contested elections of the General Assembly, the power rests with each House to determine which of the parties is entitled to the seat, and to award it accordingly." To make assurance doubly sure, and to guard against all mistake, Section 1,386, prescribing the manner of contesting elections to administrative offices before the District Courts, declares "that nothing in the act contained shall be construed so as to take aught from the power given to each House of the General Assembly to be judges of the qualifications of its own members." Nor does the Act of 1872, creating the Returning Board, in any manner impair this right. Section 44, which defines the duty of the Board as to the list of members, expressly provides "that nothing in this act shall be construed to conflict with Article 34 of the Constitution."

It is therefore clear that the Louisiana Legislature stood, on the day of its meeting, in the position of Congress and all the other legislatures in the country. It was in full possession of the "ancient, natural, and undoubted privilege" of organizing itself in its own fashion, and deciding for this and all other purposes who were its members and who were not. The law ordained that only the persons named on the lists of the Returning Board should take part in the organization; but the execution of the law lay with the legislature itself. No power on earth was competent to superintend, revise, or check its proceedings. If, as the Radical members assert, there was unfairness in the election of the Speaker, it was a thing which has happened before, which will happen again, and for which, like any other fault or folly, there is no remedy beyond an appeal to



public opinion. If it had proved impossible to elect a Speaker, owing to the unnecessary turbulence or absence of members, it would have been a state of things, however discreditable, which has been witnessed in the Federal House of Representatives and in the General Court of Massachusetts for days and weeks together. If persons not qualified voted in the organization, it was to the House itself, after the organization, that complaint should have been made. The "petition" addressed by the Radical members to Kellogg was an absurd and ridiculous document, which that person had no more right to entertain or act on than the writer of these lines. No Governor or President has a right to have hand, act, or part in the organization of any legislative body, or in controlling or directing its proceedings. It is not amenable to him in any manner or form. If any one portion of a legislative body finds itself oppressed or outraged by another, it must, under the immemorial usage of civilized constitutional states, appeal to the honor, patriotism, and sense of justice of its opponents, and if this fails, if right and justice are sacrificed to party, there is, as Cushing finely says, "no alternative but to appeal to that tribunal which revises the decisions of all others—the tribunal of the future, eternally and everywhere sitting in judgment on the past, whose judges are the people, and whose judgments are recorded in public opinion." This is no rhetorical dictum or bit of Sentimentalist vapor. It is a doctrine which lies at the very foundations of free government; for if the legislature is not independent or irresponsible, the executive is or may quickly become a despotism. When Kellogg, therefore, presumed to act on the Radical petition, and called in the aid of the troops to enable him to coerce the majority of the members of the House, whether that majority was real or ostensible, he committed a high crime and misdemeanor, for which he ought to be punished. The notion which General Sheridan seems to entertain that the Governor's demand for Federal troops justified General de Trobriand's action in the House, may be put in the same category with the notion that American citizens can be outlawed by Executive proclamation.

As regards the proper mode of dealing with this question on the part of the public, it is difficult to know what to say. The Louisiana problem, in all its odious deformity, has now been before us for over three years, and if, during that period, there had been the slightest sign of a desire or intention on the part of either the President or the majority in Congress to set up an honest government for the good of the people of the State, we should counsel the greatest forbearance towards any mistakes the Administration or its agents might make—towards even such hideous mistakes as this last one. But, as every man at the North knows in his heart, the history of Federal interference in the affairs of the State is the history of the connivance of a great Government at the efforts of a small band of rascally adventurers to live by fraud, corruption, and intrigue. The first great scandal in the dismal tale—the abduction for twelve days, on board the United States revenue-cutter, of enough members of the State legislature to prevent the formation of a quorum, in 1872, by the Federal collector of the port, Casey, the President's brother-in-law, was a fitting beginning of all that has since occurred; and that, like the latest outrage, passed without one word of rebuke from Washington. When we ask what the Republicans, either in or out of Congress, have done to put a stop to this shameful caricature on civilized government, the answer is—nothing, absolutely nothing. They have remained silent and often approving spectators, and now, when the climax has been capped, and the thing has become so bad that it is furnishing solid and valuable capital to the Democrats, good Republicans will not touch the matter because the Democrats are excited about it—under the argument *ab ira infidelium*. So that it is very difficult to see how the reform is to be brought about, or why the firm of Kellogg, Packard, Casey & Co. should not carry on business in Louisiana for ever. The last few days have in fact furnished us with an astounding illustration of the extent to which the ignorance or indifference of large numbers of intelligent men has gone in matters per-

taining to the very foundations of the Government, in the enquiries we hear on every side whether there may not be circumstances which justify a brigadier in going into a legislature and selecting for military arrest the persons whom he thinks ought not to be there. One might as well ask whether it might not be good practice for a doctor to make an incision in one of the valves of a patient's heart, and whether it would not be well to wait for the diagnosis before condemning the treatment.

As regards the people of Louisiana, we trust they will remember that the most effectual aid they can render to the right-minded men at the North in putting an end to the régime which has made their State the scandal and disgrace of constitutional government, is by maintaining perfect order. If they do this, their deliverance, though it may not come this winter, is sure to come before long.

#### THE CONGRESS OF ST. PETERSBURG.

WITHIN the past two years, a movement has been set on foot among the philanthropists of Europe to make some changes in the customs and rules of war respecting the wounded and prisoners. Originating, or at least appearing to originate, in the voluntary action of private citizens, the reform was to be accomplished by diplomatic action and a general congress or treaty. Societies were formed to promote the measures, and they presented the matter to the different governments. Early in 1874, the Russian Government appeared as the special champion of the project; and from that time all the operations were carried on by it, as an avowed object of its policy, in which, however, it was aided from the outset by the co-operation of Germany. A circular letter was addressed by Russia to all the cabinets of Europe, inviting them to unite in a Congress at Brussels in July. In the published statements of the voluntary societies, and in the earliest Russian correspondence, the purpose announced was purely a humanitarian one, and was represented to be merely the adoption of rules which would ameliorate the condition of prisoners and the wounded. The governments very generally, if not universally, signified their intention of taking a part in the conference. In this position of the affair, Prince Gortchakoff sent a note to the Russian Ministers at the different courts, which, with most of the stock phrases of the Sentimental school—"the solidarity of the peoples," and the like—announced that the Russian cabinet had prepared "a project for an international code with the object of determining the laws and usages of war," which, however, "is only a starting-point for ulterior deliberations, and will, we trust, prepare the way for a general understanding." "The motive," he added, "by which it is inspired is one of humanity, which, we are convinced, will meet a general feeling, a general interest, and a general need." The contents of this proposed code, notwithstanding the humane motives to which its origin was ascribed, startled the European statesmen, and opened their eyes to the nature of the ulterior designs of the Russian Minister. Some of its provisions, as will be seen, would destroy at one blow the naval strength of maritime countries, and its effect as a whole would largely enhance the power of the great military empires. Earl Derby, in a despatch addressed to the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, and which was communicated to all the other cabinets, while expressing a willingness on the part of Great Britain to unite in any measures which would actually tend to mitigate the personal hardships of warfare, and especially in those which would alleviate the condition of prisoners and the wounded, refused in very plain though very polite terms "to enter into any discussion of the rules of international law by which the relations of belligerents are guided, or to undertake any new obligations or engagements of any kind in regard to general principles." In particular, he demanded from Russia, as well as from all the other nations which should take a part in the conference, that it "would not entertain in any shape, directly or indirectly, anything relating to maritime operations or naval warfare." This pledge was at once given by Prince Gortchakoff in the most positive terms, and he even went so far as to declare that, "in general, the recognized

principles of international law will not be entertained by us nor brought forward for discussion." Most of the other governments returned a similar answer to Lord Derby's demands, although Germany and Italy replied that they would follow Russia. How far Prince Gortchakoff was strictly accurate in his sweeping assertion that "the recognized principles of international law would not be brought forward for discussion," will be seen from a review of the code which he prepared and proposed to the Congress for its adoption.

With most of its details we have at present no concern, and shall only refer to those portions which define the general rights and powers of belligerents. Its central principle is contained in the declaration that "operations of war must be directed exclusively against the forces and the means of making war of the hostile state, and not against its subjects." In this doctrine is found the humanitarian coloring which has proved so attractive to kindly theorists, and which has under its thin veil hidden from them the real injustice and hard absolutism of the code as a whole. The notion that war will be humanized by making it a duel between professional combatants—so that the success will always depend upon the possession of the largest and best equipped and best trained armies, and not upon the free spirit and fortitude of an entire people—is a favorite one with publicists of the Sentimental school and with unreasoning philanthropists. That it is a mistaken notion is shown by the fact that the only governments and statesmen who urge its general acceptance are those who most rely for security at home and abroad on a vast standing military force. Those wily and far-seeing men—the Gortchakoffs and the Bismarcks—perceive that in reducing warfare to a contest between professional soldiers, they will destroy at once the reliance of constitutional states upon the free activity of their citizens; they will force all nations in self-defence to adopt the policy of vast standing armies and a thorough military organization of their people. In this manner, the theory of war, which on its surface appears to be so mild and humane, and which by such appearance secures the advocacy of many professional reformers, is contrived to undermine and overthrow political institutions based upon civil liberty, and to strengthen those which rest upon force. Even the claim of a superior humanity in this mode of warfare is wholly without foundation. Reduced to its lowest terms, it is simply this: To kill or wound *men* called soldiers is more humane than to take or destroy the property of persons who are not soldiers. In other words, the name and condition of "soldier" places the *man* in the scale of humanity beneath the goods of the merchant or the crops of the farmer. This is the conclusion to which the modern Sentimental theory inevitably carries us. It is impossible to escape it by any subterfuge of argument, or to obscure it by any cloud of words. John Stuart Mill stripped it of all verbiage and placed it in its naked absurdity by one expressive sentence: "How war is to be humanized by shooting at men's bodies instead of taking their goods, I confess surprises me."

Adopting this central notion of war confined to the actual combatants, the code, of course, professes to respect private property, and enacts that "troops should respect private property, and in no case destroy it without pressing necessity." The utter worthlessness of this general declaration is evident when we turn to other sections of the same chapters. In addition to a sweeping permission given to seize and destroy everything that is necessary to the enemy, or may add to their strength, or that may hinder its own success, an invading army is authorized to exact for its own use from the population all taxes and public dues of every kind, and all articles necessary for its maintenance; but in the last case, indemnity, *as far as possible*, must be given to the losers. Even money contributions may be levied in cases of necessity, or by way of penalty; but, unless imposed as a penalty, the sums thus taken "*may be liable to restitution*."

Here, for the first time in the history of modern public law, the uncontrollable, absolute, arbitrary power of the commander-in-chief of an invading army is legalized and made to receive the sanction of all civilized nations. Granting that all these acts are

constantly done in modern wars, they have been suffered rather than justified, and a strong public opinion might produce some mitigation of their severity. This code, however, places them beyond the reach of opinion by conferring upon them a formal and universal sanction. The pretence that any indemnity or restitution is secured is too shallow to call for a criticism. The same hostile power which imposes the burden is made the sole judge of its extent, and all remedy is thus rested upon the enemy's discretion. To call this a legal redress is a simple perversion of terms.

The real design of the code is shown most plainly, however, in those portions which define the relations of an invading army with the population of an occupied district or territory. Its commander may maintain, modify, or suspend the local laws; he may compel the local civil officials, whether administrative or judicial, to continue the full exercise of their functions, and to perform on oath all such duties as may be required of them, and those who refuse or neglect to perform these duties may be prosecuted judicially. All public property, including even buildings, and also all railways and their rolling-stock, although belonging to private companies, may be appropriated. Citizens are forbidden to offer any opposition to the invaders unless they are fully organized as a portion of the national forces, and the inhabitants of an occupied district are prohibited under any circumstances from taking arms against their enemy. The dread penalty for a violation of the rule in either case is "military justice." Finally, all individuals who at one time take a part in military operations and at another return to their peaceful occupations, are treated as without rights and subjected to the same swift and inexorable punishment.

These few sections, selected from many others setting forth the same doctrines, show the animus of the proposed legislation. Under the specious pretext of confining war to the professional soldiery, it lays the heaviest of burdens upon all private citizens. As soon as the district in which they reside is invaded, all their natural allegiance is ended, and they must fulfil all their civil functions and duties, private or official, for the benefit of the enemy. Resistance is made a crime, and every endeavor in aid of country and government is made to be a violation of the international law. In short, all reliance upon the spontaneous action of its own citizens is denied to every state, and if it would maintain its independence and be able to resist external attacks, it must be prepared with sufficient armies and military organization. It is thus that, through the means of a Congress assembled to consult upon the laws of war, Russia and Germany would impose their own theories of government upon the nations of Europe, and, by the introduction of standing armies and a military organization as a necessary means of self-preservation into every state, would destroy the possibility of free institutions and constitutional governments. The first Congress at Brussels failed to accomplish these designs, and it seems to be expected that the one to assemble at St. Petersburg will be more pliant.

#### OLD CATHOLICISM IN SWITZERLAND.

GENEVA, December 8, 1874.

OUR little republic has just passed through a critical election. The announcement need not startle any one; for the canton of Geneva (to judge from more than a year's close observation) is generally either on the eve of a crisis, or at the turning-point of a crisis, or just rallying after a crisis. Such a perpetual raging of tempests as goes on in this "tumbler of water" may be imagined by those who can conceive of a state of society in which not only municipal and State elections, but Congressional and Presidential elections, come every year; and in addition constitutional revisions and amendments, cantonal and federal, are frequently submitted to universal suffrage, and the periodical election of Protestant and Catholic ministers by popular ballot adds a vivacity of its own to local and general politics. The issue on trial at the late election was a religious one. Most of the recent elections have turned on religious questions. The cry of the triumphant party—the Radicals—was "The application of the laws," meaning the crowding of the Roman Catholics to the wall. On the other side was a feeble and hopeless wail of "Let us alone!" "No more harassing legisla-



tion!" "Quit inventing and engineering new state churches, and attend to the affairs of this life for a while!" The more sober and temperate Protestants, the little company of the disciples of Father Hyacinthe, and (in self-defence) the Ultramontane Catholics, combined their strength in opposition to the Radical party. But the vote of the latter was an overwhelming majority. For a year to come, it is settled that the utmost power of the canton, unrestrained even by an effective minority in the legislative and executive councils, is to be applied to the worrying out of the Roman Catholic clergy and faithful.

It must be acknowledged that the affair begins now to take a form approximating persecution. When the law for the election of priests by their parishioners was applied in the city of Geneva and its larger suburbs, the free-thinking Catholics went in for liberty with a shout and a rush, and elected their liberal priests by a vote which proved that it was the wish of a large majority of the born-Catholic population to repudiate the Roman hierarchy. But when it comes to the application of the same law in the Catholic country parishes, it is a totally different matter. The old parish-priests can be turned out of their churches and parsonages by tendering them an "iron-clad" oath, which they cannot in conscience take; and by the same process all priests in good and regular standing with the Roman hierarchy can be made ineligible to the position. But the law requires that no election of curé shall be valid unless at least a quarter of the registered Catholic vote of the commune is actually cast, on one side or the other; and when, a few weeks since, an election for curé was held at the rural parish of Grand Saconnex, the villagers were able to defeat the choice of a liberal curé by simply staying at home. The number of persons who could be persuaded to vote at all fell far short of the requisite one-fourth. But the root-and-branch men, who have complete control of the affairs of the canton for another year, give notice that they do not mean that "the application of the laws" shall stop there. By hook or by crook—most likely by the latter—not only are the Ultramontane clergy to be dispossessed, but the churches, parsonages, and salaries are to be transferred to a new clergy, detested by their parishes, disowned by bishop and pope, but in full fellowship with M. Carteret and the rest of the Protestant council of state.

Meanwhile, the religious Protestants, a large proportion of whom considered the democratizing of the Catholic Church a clever stroke of politics, have been disgusted by an application of almost the same law, word for word, to the National Protestant Church. According to the new statute, the sole condition of becoming a pastor of the old church founded by John Calvin is to pass examination at the university, or give some equivalent proof of scholastic training, and then get a majority of the universal suffrage of the Protestant community. No ordination is required, there is no test of orthodoxy, there is no enforced liturgy nor catechism, and there is no limitation whatever on the subjects of which the preacher shall speak, nor on his manner of treating them. There is nothing to hinder a Jewish Rabbi from becoming a minister of the state church if he can get votes enough. In fact, I regard it as highly probable that the learned and eloquent Grand Rabbi Wertheimer may some time be invited to be one of the preachers from the old chair of John Calvin. Of course, all the old Protestants, of any earnestness of religious conviction, are getting ready to quit the church of their fathers, declaring that it has ceased to be a Christian church; and all persons of the slightest political forecast are looking for the speedy and complete dissolution of all connection between church and state. No sentiment is more sure to "bring down the house" at a popular religious assemblage, than a prediction of the early adoption of the American system in Geneva and in all Europe. I told Dr. Joseph P. Thompson the other day—whose useful little book on 'Church and State in America' is undoubtedly having an important influence on public opinion in Europe—that I was sorry it did not contain one candid chapter on the drawbacks and failures of the American system. He told me that the edition now preparing by that clever young statesman, the Marquis of Gonzaga, for circulation in Italy, would have such an addition. If these people will try our experiment, as I hope, we are bound to do what we can to save them from our mistakes and incidental evils.

Father Hyacinthe has at last organized his separatist worship, thus dividing the "National Catholic Church" of the city of Geneva. He announces, in a little manifesto, that as soon as the Liberal Catholics of Switzerland complete their organization by the choice and institution of a bishop, he shall tender his submission and obedience to the new prelate, if—

On the whole, I am slowly and reluctantly making up my mind that this Old-Catholic movement is not going to have much of a future. Here, in this canton, it has had a noble, sincere, though not very sagacious leadership in its clergy, but a most scurvy though numerous following of small

politicians, unscrupulous and irreligious. In the Bernese Jura there has been a sort of drumhead Reformation, under the main direction of M. Bodenheimer, Protestant Minister of Public Instruction. I will not deny that Bodenheimer is a pretty fair makeshift Catholic bishop, and has done the best in his power for his flock. But his best efforts to recruit a new clergy for his diocese of sixty-nine parishes, even with the most moderate regard for validity of ordination, have resulted in bringing together from the contiguous countries a scanty supply of men of doubtful quality. But these have, practically, no parishes. For it is a pretty well-established fact that the Liberal Catholic, although he will turn out with alacrity on election day to vote against the clergy, will not go to church except under stress of some unusual combination of motives; and, further, that the Liberal Catholic's wife and children will, generally, go to the Ultramontane worship unless he does something to stop them.

Further north, in German Switzerland, there does seem to be a somewhat greater depth and reality to the Old-Catholic movement; and if the scholar-like and pious Professor Herzog, of Olten, should really become the Swiss bishop, as is proposed, he will do much for the character and success of the movement. But the difficulty with it, both there and in Germany, is that it is a movement that does not move. It begins in the universities, and never travels far beyond them. Instead of pushing and propagating their principles, the Old Catholics are content with making their protest, demanding their rights, and waiting on Providence. Their feeling is profound and almost religiously earnest that there is no knowing what may turn up when the Pope dies. WHEN THE POPE DIES. Have you ever thought professionally what a heading that would make for a magazine article; and what a good thing some bright fellow with a talent for vaticination might make of it? But meanwhile that aggravating old man shows no disposition to gratify the public interest as to what will come next; and some of the best of the Old Catholics, like Hyacinthe, are among those who pray most sincerely for the Pope's health and long life, saying that no one else could possibly help on their reform half so effectively as Pius the Ninth himself.

The new federal constitution, adopted this year, begins to take hold like a mustard-plaster. The whole character of the debates in the federal legislature has undergone a change in consequence of the effective transfer to it, from the cantons, of most of the chief functions of government. Instead of holding, as heretofore, far less proportionate authority than the Federal Government of the United States, the federal authorities at Berne now hold control of all civil law, all commercial law, all military and postal organization, leaving to the cantons nothing but a part of the penal legislation and an imperfect control of their own police. For three or four weeks past the main subject of study has been a bill for regulating marriages, funerals, and the registration of births and deaths. It seems strange to our notions of federal government to see the central authority busy in regulating the order in which the sexton shall dig the graves in a village burying-ground, and the conditions of the marriage contract, and who shall keep the parish register. But there is an explanation, if not a reason, for all this, in the excess of state-rights with which the people have been annoyed until now. The hindrances to marriage, and even to the decent burial of Protestants in Roman Catholic cantons, have been swept away, with the hearty consent of those cantons themselves, by turning the whole matter over to the federal authorities, who will regulate it in detail by a general law, doubtless excluding all the clergy from any official participation whatever in any civil transaction. And, when you once think of it, it is a fair question whether in the United States there is any point at which we really suffer more for lack of uniformity of law than in the matter of marriage, in which one State is at liberty, through bad legislation, to make itself a nuisance to all its neighbors. Too much State-rights, on a matter so vital to society, may sometimes bring us, as it seems to have brought the Swiss, to an excess of centralization. But what may be tolerable and even salutary in this little confederacy might be fatal to our great organism.

## Correspondence.

### MANUAL LABOR AT HAMPTON.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: To the discussion of manual-labor systems which you notice in your issue of December 10, there is still something to be added; and a statement of the facts which prove, in opposition to the experience of Cornell University, that the manual labor of students can be made practically successful, may throw some light upon the conditions of such success. The

experiment which has been made in the Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton, Virginia, during the past six years, is of great practical value to the South, and should be of at least indirect interest to Northern educators; for it includes the severe test of a somewhat complicated manual-labor system, and the proof that such a system may be made a valuable adjunct to the resources of a college, a majority of whose students are impecunious. If manual labor is a failure at Cornell and a success at Hampton, it is certainly worth while to discover the reasons for these different results, in order to obtain data for future work and to avoid the costly repetition of demonstrated mistakes.

In your note upon the Cornell system, you mention some of the principal causes of its acknowledged failure, and these chance to be salient points of difference between it and the Hampton system, some being inherent and inevitable differences, while others are the accident of circumstance and surroundings. A primary difficulty at Cornell seems to have been that the system required of the students a "rare amount of constancy, fortitude, and self-restraint." Now, in Hampton, all the students are manual laborers, and the required constancy, fortitude, etc., being simply the habit of their lives, are not consciously elevated into the rank of virtues. The students are, furthermore, assisted by the knowledge that their work is educational, has results both in the present and the future, and directly affects their standing in the college. The demand which their work makes upon them is taken as a matter of course, and they are stimulated by understanding that they are ranked not only according to the spirit in which they deal with books, but also according to the spirit in which they deal with the appliances of physical labor. Their manual labor is made a necessary and an honorable thing. Then, too, the natural dislike to the coarser forms of work is met by putting the students, so far as possible, at work of which they can themselves see the value, work which teaches them something, whose completion leaves them wiser and more helpful, and whose connection with more highly developed forms of labor is evident.

Competition of course exists, and student labor, in order to be of substantial assistance to individuals, must, estimating it at its true value, necessarily be overpaid in comparison with current rates; but although this lessens the profits, it by no means annihilates them. At Hampton there is also the disadvantage (if it be a disadvantage), caused by the general stagnation of the South, of a glutted labor market. The college must perforce, at all times and seasons, provide its students with work, as there is absolutely no demand for their labor outside the college walls; but while this is a frequent cause of perplexity to the college officials, it undoubtedly affords protection to the students, by keeping them constantly under the beneficial control of college regulations.

The irregularity of students who are also manual laborers is an obstacle which remains always and everywhere insurmountable. The most that can be done is to transform it into organized irregularity, and make an allowance for it in the academic classes. In the Hampton system it has been found that by a careful arrangement of the working hours, thorough reviewing on the part of the teachers, and a good deal of personal pressure, the students can be saved from any essential loss. A student who spends one-quarter of his school hours in labor need not, by any means, lose the same amount of time in his studies. As to the complaint made in the Cornell report of the dishonesty of students, Hampton has a somewhat remarkable record to offer. During the past six years the officers have not discovered a single case of intentional misstatement in regard to labor performed, or any attempt to garble accounts. The negroes, finding themselves for the first time treated as trustworthy and responsible agents, develop a curiously strict sense of honor, which may or may not prove to be the result merely of their novel position. Their friends do not claim that this apparent trustworthiness is likely to be a permanent characteristic, but state the fact as they at present find it, for it to some extent simplifies the official machinery and is undoubtedly one of the factors in the problem.

The total amount expended in the payment of students (both male and female) during the past five years at Hampton, is something over \$25,000, the rates being from five to eight cents per hour for agricultural and household labor, and from ten to twelve cents for mechanical; and it is noticeable that, instead of the falling-off experienced at Cornell, the Hampton books show a steady increase of from \$3,833 in 1870 to \$6,270 in 1874. In short, the manual-labor system has thus far worked so well at Hampton that the authorities of the Institute do not hesitate to hazard the opinion that, given a class of students of whom a large proportion have felt the pressure of poverty, and know the value of their opportunity, manual labor, under ordinary conditions, can be made in every sense profitable.

M. F. A.

NEW YORK, December 26, 1874.

#### L. M. ROCK'S HUMILITY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Allow me to call your attention to an error in the letter of your Paris correspondent which was published in last week's *Nation*. Bismarck did not write, while speaking of the drama of the Commune: "A thing which I do not desire for humanity's sake." His exact words were: "Was ich aus menschlichem Interesse nicht wünschen will." *Menschlich* here means humane, and Bismarck means to say: his own humane feelings, his humaneness, does not allow him to wish for a repetition of those horrid events, even if it would be desirable from a political point of view. Your correspondent, therefore, would not have had any reason at all to shudder at Bismarck's atrocious hatred of the French nation, if he had understood the true meaning of Bismarck's words.

I am sure your well-known sense of justice will not allow you to leave the American people laboring under the wrong impression of Bismarck's character which such an interpretation of his words as that of your correspondent must necessarily have produced.—Very respectfully yours,

EDW. ALTHAUS.

110 EAST TWENTY SEVENTH ST., NEW YORK, Jan. 10, 1875.

### Notes.

THE American reprint of Livingstone's 'Last Journals' will be by Harper & Bros.—D. Appleton & Co. have reprinted in full the Greville Memoirs.—Scribner, Armstrong & Co. secure Mr. George Smith's account of his recent discoveries at Nineveh.—G. P. Putnam's Sons publish James Martineau's 'Religion as Affected by Modern Materialism.'—Roberts Bros.' list for the coming season includes one American book—Rev. W. C. Gannett's life of his father, the late Dr. Ezra Styles Gannett; and the following authorized reprints: Earl Russell's 'Recollections and Suggestions of Public Life (1813-1873)'; Helps's 'Social Pressure'; 'Our Sketching Club,' by R. St. John Tyrwhitt; a boys' story, 'Harry Blount,' by Philip Gilbert Hamerton; and 'A Rambling Story,' by Mary Cowden Clarke.—No. 1. of the natural-history publications of the U. S. Northern Boundary Commission is on the Muride, by Dr. Elliott Coues, U.S.A.—The 'Tribune Almanac' for 1875 is as usual full of political statistics convenient for editors and voters, while the farmer may profit by the tables of trade and commerce, of canal and railroad transportation, and of the wheat market of the world. Misbehaving Senators and Representatives find here their shabby record as to "six important financial propositions involving the question of inflation"; and the slipshod legislation of the last session is summarized or given at length.—Berlin has reached that stage of metropolitan growth where the peculiar pabulum known as an "American" newspaper seems a necessity. The *International Gazette* has been endeavoring for months to supply the supposed need. It is said to have met with some success in obtaining circulation among settled Americans. The numbers we have seen do not indicate any intention to rival the *Anglo-American Times*, or even, which is saying a good deal, to equal the *American Register* of Paris. Of course, *Galignani* is, without doubt, the best English paper on the Continent, but it pretends to no independent existence. The *Anglo-American Times*, of London, has long been the best publication intended to meet the wants of Americans travelling or sojourning abroad. From this to the *Register* (despite some improvement the last year or two) and the *Swiss Times* the gap is huge. We are speaking only of the literary merits of these papers. The advertisements and purely local information or "hints" have in each a special value of their own.

—The accounts given by the newspapers of the new kind of volunteer winter Commencement held at the Academy of Music last Thursday evening, differ in some respects. According to the *Tribune*, "the first inter-collegiate contest, whether considered with reference to the ability of the work which it evoked, or the character and numbers of the audience gathered to witness it, or the enthusiasm which was displayed, proved a much more marked and significant success than even the best friends of the undertaking had anticipated." The *Herald*, on the other hand, dismissed the subject with a good deal of hauteur, declaring that "the whole thing" was "a dreary exhibition of mediocrity," maintaining that the young men would have been better employed elsewhere, and that "even the winner of the first prize in oratory only won because he forgot himself, and was natural in his delivery during a part of his speech." In his description of the evening's entertainment, too, the *Herald's* commissioner gives evidence of a praiseworthy but excessive tendency to set up a high standard for the estimation of literary performances of this kind, expressing



grave doubts whether good reason can be assigned why, on the evening of the seventh of January, in the year of grace 1875, an audience should be assembled in the principal hall of the country to hear one young gentleman of tender age discoursing upon "Independent Thought," or another telling the tale of "The Good King of the North," or a third analyzing "The St. Simcon Stylites of To-day." We are inclined to fear that if this keen and searching kind of criticism were brought to bear even upon the midsummer and orthodox commencements, they would hardly be found to bear the test, and, after all, the principal difference between a commencement of the old and of this new kind is probably that one is a college exercise, properly so-called, with a merely local public to encourage the contestants, while this gives to literary intercollegiate rivalry the same kind of glare of general publicity which boating secures for the athletic interest in the summer.

—We may, however, be allowed, "without seeming invidious," as the reporters say, to give one powerful reason why literary intercollegiate rivalry can never have the interest which attaches to the boat-races, viz., that the boats are pulled by men who are, for this work, in their very prime and flower, and from whom, in the matter of strength and endurance, no improvement need be looked for during the rest of their lives. In short, from the athletic point of view, they are perfect men. On the other hand, the intellectual performances of undergraduates are those of very immature persons, whose rhetorical efforts are apt to be merely imitative, who will not be at their best for ten or twelve years to come, and who have nothing to say on any subject which possesses real interest for the spectators. And we may add, that we think the appearance of undergraduates in the middle of the college session to recite essays in a city theatre, on subjects which have no special relation to the studies in which they are actually engaged, and before judges who, however competent, have not been selected by the college authorities, must be considered a performance of very doubtful utility with reference to its disciplinary influence, in the best sense of the term. This objection, it is true, is not applicable to contests in mathematics or other scientific subjects, which are now proposed, but to make these really intercollegiate, the competitors should really represent their colleges as regards excellence, and whether they did so or not could only be ascertained by a preliminary collegiate examination; but how would this comport with the sober and fruitful pursuit of the regular college course?

—The representation of colleges at this contest was by no means numerous, and was indeed confined to Cornell, Princeton, Williams, the University of New York, Rutgers, and Lafayette; and the absence of Harvard and Yale was of course noticeable. Whether they intend to take part in the contests of next year (which are to include competitive examinations in Greek and mathematics) seems as yet undecided, and meanwhile the smaller colleges probably take a wicked satisfaction in reflecting that, whether owing to their absence or to some other cause, this contest has not, like some others, ended in accusations of fraud directed against the judges, nor even have any of the orators or essayists entered a claim, as yet, of a "foul." No doubt, one reason why neither Harvard nor Yale took any part in the contest this year is that in both colleges the oratorical fever—the thirst for declamatory distinction which a generation ago seemed to seize upon every American boy at a certain age like an irritating epidemic—is a thing of the past; the time has come when at Harvard a reaction has set in of a very decided character. So strong, indeed, has the anti-oratorical current begun to run in that college that among recent graduates the reputation for a precocious ability for speech-making is not at all enviable—a fluency of political tongue having become associated in the minds of observant youngsters with hypocrisy or a general lack of sincerity. Lately, this healthy reaction has been carried pretty far, and has inclined some persons to fear for the total extinction of American oratory—an event which we, for our part, in no wise anticipate so long as there are people to persuade and halls in which to persuade them. The next meeting of the Intercollegiate Association will be watched with a good deal of interest, particularly as it is now, through the liberality of Mrs. J. J. Astor and Mr. Dwight H. Olmstead, supplied with funds to a considerable amount. One of the curiosities of the discussions of this year was a proposition for a great collegiate inter-State national contest at Philadelphia during the Centennial, which, we are glad to say, was voted down after a lively discussion. The judges on Thursday evening in oratory were Messrs. W. C. Bryant, G. W. Curtis, and Whitelaw Reid; in essays, T. W. Higginson, James T. Fields, and Richard Grant White.

—The Paris Geographical Society has been arranging for an International Geographical Congress. The answers from foreign governments

and societies have been so favorable that a definite program has been drawn up and issued. The congress, in connection with an exhibition of instruments, maps, books, etc., bearing upon geography, will open on the 31st of next March. The sessions will continue not more than ten days. The Society has proposed 123 questions for discussion in the seven divisions, to one of which each visitor will be assigned as he may designate on announcing his intention to be present. The groups are: 1. Mathematical Geography. 2. Hydrography. 3. Physical Geography, including Botanical and Zoological Geography and General Anthropology. 4. Historical Geography: Ethnography and Philology. 5. Economical Geography (i.e., the problems of emigration and the use of emigrants in obtaining new information); Commercial and Statistical Geography. 6. The Teaching of Geography. 7. Travels. There are corresponding departments for the articles which are to be exhibited. This exhibition will continue at least a month. Each Government appoints a director who cares for the exhibitors of that country, and to him all announcements of participation are to be made. The French members of the Society who arrange the details of the congress are: President, Vice-Admiral Baron de la Roncière le Noury; General Commissioner Baron René Reille; General Secretary of the Geographical Society, Charles Maunoir. All suggestions of new questions and proposed changes of those announced, as well as all memorials and notice of intention of speaking, are to be sent to M. le Baron Reille, commissaire général, 10 Boulevard Latour Marbourg.

—Herr Niemann, the genealogical editor of the *Almanach de Gotha*, appears not to have heard of the criticism excited last year among the Italians by his novel addition to the account of their sovereign. In the current issue of the *Almanach* (which comes to us from B. Westermann & Co. and F. W. Christern), he retains the entry concerning themorganatic marriage of Victor Emanuel with Rosina, Countess of Miraflore, merely altering the name to Rosa Vercellana. The protestations of the Foreign Office, therefore, if any were made, were without effect, and it is perhaps as much a secret as ever who prompted the editor to record the left-handed alliance. Other noticeable aspects of the *Almanach* for 1875 are the unusual changes in the diplomatic and statistical matter—for example, in the military data of Great Britain, France, Italy, Austria, Russia, and Turkey, owing to the reorganization of their systems; and the preponderance given to financial statistics, in accordance with the policy of alternation adopted for successive editions in view of the superabundant material at the command of the statistical department. The notice of Spain is confined exclusively to the personnel of the Government and its representatives abroad. No prominent name occurs in the necrology of royalty for 1874. The portraits of the living include Marshal MacMahon, the Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh—a pair of whom striking beauty cannot be predicated in spite of the engraver's good intentions—and the pretty young Archduchess of Austria, once the Infanta of Portugal, by name (much abbreviated) Maria Theresa.

—In the last number of Kolbe's continuation of Erdmann's *Journal für praktische Chemie*, issued in November, 1874, though bearing the inscription No. 20—1873, we find a chemical review of the year 1873 by the editor. The Leipzig professor finishes his review in a short paragraph, remarking that there have been no important discoveries, but that other occurrences will weigh so much the more heavily upon all chemists who have their profession at heart. With a brief allusion to Liebig, whom he reserves for the succeeding article, he launches his diatribe against the new chemistry. He feels that the time has come for him to speak out. For some years, he declares, chemical research in Germany has been going backwards, and German "Gründlichkeit" has given place to superficialness and one-sidedness. The chemical journals contain many articles, but very few of any depth or originality—"Arbeiten nach einer Schablone." Young chemists, nowadays, care only for work which promises to lead to something new; they are poorly educated, get to work early, and are declared to be useless by the directors of factories where they are employed. The blame of most of this lies at the doors of the "so-called modern chemistry." This new theory, really nothing but an imposing hypothesis, misleads by the plausible explanation it offers for all that happens. The new chemist, who knows exactly how a molecule looks at both ends and in the middle; who knows all about the ortho-, meta-, and para-arrangements, and even tries to determine the very place of an atom in a molecule (in which, by the bye, the "moderns" declare they have been wonderfully successful of late), is no longer on solid ground. The "Naturforscher" has become a metaphysician. Kolbe then impressively warns all defenders of the new chemistry—he "who for thirty years has held fast to the 'Typentheorie,' and has built it out according to his needs, in preference to tear-

ing down preparatory to building anew." This comparison is unlucky. A theory or a hypothesis is not a house to contain facts, nor built of the facts. It were better compared with the child's endeavor to put its colored blocks together according to a pattern—only the child is a big child; there is a doubt about the number of the blocks, and the pattern is lost, though we believe the theologians are thought to have a copy. The professor next vents his rage upon the German Chemical Society of Berlin—a monster created by the new chemists—the name "German" especially arousing his apparently Particularistic ire. This society was for a time doubtless somewhat free in its terms of membership, but is improving. At all events, the charge that it has been conducted for personal ends seems a little hard. Kolbe's especial complaint is against the honorary election of Wurtz, in which he finds an insult to the memory of Liebig. The rest of the number, excepting one page, is devoted to Liebig, and contains a sketch of his life and work, with reflections by Kolbe, and articles on his relation to agricultural and physiological chemistry by Strohmman and Neubauer. In fact, the number ought to be dedicated to the memory of Liebig, who, we may remark, promises in his way to occupy a shibbolethic position not unlike that long held by a renowned general and president among us. We say this without wishing in any way to depreciate the distinguished services he rendered science.

—We have alluded to this article as containing not only a curious example of the *odium chemicum*, but because of its suggestiveness in another aspect. The tirade against the new chemical philosophy we may leave to the chemists. The Chemical Society will doubtless be able to take care of itself, and perhaps of Mr. Wurtz too. As to what Prof. Kolbe says about students of chemistry, it is probably only too true—even in Germany. Its truth as regards some other countries has been only too well known. Grand as is the recent progress of chemistry—particularly that of the carbon compounds, and this because of the new theory and not in spite of it—the training of students of chemistry has suffered. The ease with which brilliant results may be obtained has led students away from the more difficult problems. Here probably the German training, excellent as it is, is weakest. Had Prof. Kolbe confined his attention to this point, and elaborated it, instead of burying it in his majestic abuse of other things, he would have found a readier hearing. It is, however, curious that Prof. von Sybel, in his address on Founders' Day (August 3) at Bonn (reprinted with the edition of his 'Die deutschen Universitäten'), makes a similar complaint concerning students of history. He finds them too ready to take little-worked departments of research which promise rapid though worthless results, rather than view work as training. Prof. Mommsen, too, in his rectorial speech at Berlin, expressed himself in a similar way, laying weight upon the time spent at the university as a time of training. This shows that the materialist hurry which characterizes American life and to some extent American culture, and for which our German cousins have been wont to abuse us, is not unknown among them. In other words, German nature is human nature too, and upon opportunity shows its likeness to its fellows. Such an opportunity the new historical school and the newer chemical school have offered to their students.

—An ingenious arrangement for a Latin vocabulary has been devised by Dr. Sanneg of Luckau. In place of the usual alphabetical order, which begins with the first letter of the word and goes from left to right, the words defined are arranged in their alphabetical order as spelt backward from right to left. This arrangement will be clear from the two columns below: the first gives the words in the usual alphabetical order, the second in Sanneg's inverted order:

FABA, horse-bean.	I. Adv. around.	CIRCA
FABACEUS, of a horse-bean, horse-bean.	II. Prep. w. Acc. around, about.	
FABAGINUS, of beans.	Adv. there.	EA
FABALIS, of beans.	Adv. in company, together.	UNA
FABARIS, a river in the Sabine country.	I. Adv. below.	INFRA
	II. Prep. w. Acc. below.	
	I. Adv. above.	SUPRA
FABELLA, a short story, a short play.	II. Prep. w. Acc. above.	

The custom of reading from left to right is so ingrained that some practice would be required to read, like Macaulay's "thirty chosen prophets," as if the words were "Traced from the right on linen white," namely, *circa* as *acric*, *ea* as *ae*, *una* as *anu*, etc., and the proposed method never can supersede the common one. But the immense usefulness of a book of words grouped in the order of the endings as a supplement to the common dictionary, is obvious. We have always insisted that the study of the derivation and formation of words, which is finished up in a page or two of the Latin grammar, deserved very much more attention than it receives. At the same time, there are great difficulties in

the way of pigeon-holing the words, when once we get beyond the commonest suffixes. A boy turned loose among Roby's lists would find himself in a perfect labyrinth; while Sanneg's arrangement would furnish him with an Ariadne-clue to guide him out of the tangled maze; for example, he could run his eye at a glance over all the words ending in *-mentum*, *-osus*, *-io*, *-tio*, etc. In fact, a simple list of the Latin vocabulary arranged in this order, even without definitions, would be as useful to the student of language as a table of anti-logarithms is to the computer. We shall be very glad to welcome such a work, and if it is carried out we promise to give it an extended notice.

—Brockhaus has recently published in his series of Italian authors ('Biblioteca d'autori italiani') the first volume of a new edition of Dante's *Commedia*, edited and commented by G. A. Scartazzini, already favorably known to Dantesque students by his book, published in 1869, entitled 'Dante Alighieri, seine Zeit, sein Leben und seine Werke.' The volume before us, an octavo of four hundred and fifty closely printed pages, contains the 'Inferno,' and is remarkable for the same care and fine typographical execution which distinguish the rest of the series. The editor has given on all important passages the opinions of the most celebrated ancient and modern commentators, besides the results of his own extensive studies in this field. Hence this edition will not only be of value to beginners who have mastered enough of the language to use with ease an Italian commentary, but more advanced scholars will find it very convenient as giving a résumé of many volumes. Nowhere could more amusing instances of the intolerance of men of letters be found than among commentators on Dante. Biagioli allowed himself to call Padre Venturi "an infamous, dirty dog" (*sozzo can vituperato*), and was in turn termed "an inurbane grammarian" and "a most ungrateful ingrate." Scartazzini, we are sorry to say, cannot resist the temptation to abuse Scarabelli of Bologna, whom he calls "an ignorant, harebrained, and unconscientious editor," "*quel tal* Scarabelli," and "*dottorone*." On this subject it will be interesting to hear what Scarabelli has to say in his next work on Dante.

—While Ariosto has been translated into seven Italian dialects, and Tasso into nine, Dante has not yet been completely translated into even one. Various cantos have been translated with greater or less success into the dialects of Milan, Naples, Verona, Venice, Chioggia, and Padua. In addition to these, we learn from a late number of the *Athenæum* that Francesco Limanzi, a local judge, has just successfully translated the 'Paradise' into the Calabrian dialect. There is surely no reason why the peasants of that wild region should not be as much interested, in case the translation is continued, in the episodes of Francesca di Rimini and Count Ugolino, as the Venetian gondoliers in Armida and Rinaldo or Tancred and Clorinda. Before passing from Dante, we may mention a pamphlet by Dr. Johannes Jacob on the import of Dante's guides in the other world, Virgil, Beatrice, and St. Bernard ('Die Bedeutung der Führer Dante's in der Divina Commedia,' Leipzig), with relation to the ideal aim of the poem and the mental development of the poet. This little work shows what excellent results can be obtained from the system of explaining Dante by Dante—a system partially adopted by many commentators, but most completely carried out by Giuliani of Florence in his admirable comment entitled 'Dante spiegato con Dante.'

—At the beginning of this century the publication of the 'Vision' of Frate Alberico, a monk of Montecassino, aroused a lively discussion as to the originality of Dante's 'Commedia.' Since then, Ampère, Labitte, and others have collected and illustrated the various legends and visions current during the Middle Ages, and even earlier, which throw light upon the great poem. The latest contribution to this subject is from the pen of the well-known Italian scholar, Alessandro d'Ancona, and is entitled 'I Precursori di Dante' (Firenze, 1874). The author skilfully arranges and classifies the extensive material collected by his predecessors in this field, and comes to the conclusion, which will be readily received, that Dante's originality did not consist in the form of his poem, but in the consummate art with which he managed it.

#### NORDHOFF'S COMMUNISTIC SOCIETIES.\*

MR. NORDHOFF offers us here a copious volume on a subject deserving of liberal treatment. His researches have been minute and exhaustive, and he makes a very lucid and often an entertaining exposition of their results. He writes in a friendly spirit and tends rather, on the whole, to dip his pen into rose-color; but he professes to take the rigidly economical and not the sentimental view; and certainly the Rappists and the Shakers, the

\* 'The Communistic Societies of the United States, from Personal Visit and Observation, etc. By Charles Nordhoff.' With illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.



Perfectionists and the Bethel people, make their accounts balance with an exactness very delightful to a practical mind. It would have been possible, we think, for an acute moralist to travel over the same ground as Mr. Nordhoff and to present in consequence a rather duskier picture of human life at Amana, Mount Lebanon, and Oneida; but his work for our actual needs would doubtless have been less useful. Mr. Nordhoff, too, has not neglected the moral side of his topic, and much of the information he gives us has an extreme psychological interest. His purpose, however, was to investigate communistic life from the point of view of an adversary to trades-unions, and to see whether in the United States, with their vast area for free experiments in this line, it might not offer a better promise to workingmen than mere coalitions to increase wages and shorten the hours of labor. Such experiments would be worth examining if they did nothing more for the workingman than change the prospect ahead of him into something better than a simple perpetuity of hire—a prospect at the best depressing and irritating. “Hitherto,” says Mr. Nordhoff, “very little, indeed almost nothing definite and precise, has been made known concerning these societies; and Communism remains loudly but very vaguely spoken of, by friends as well as enemies, and is commonly either a word of terror or contempt in the public prints. . . . I desired to discover how the successful Communists had met and overcome the difficulties of idleness, selfishness, and unthrift in individuals, which are commonly believed to make Communism impossible. . . . I wished to see what they had made of their lives; what was the effect of communal living upon the character of the individual man and woman; whether the life had broadened or narrowed them, and whether assured fortune and pecuniary independence had brought to them a desire for beauty of surroundings and broader intelligence; whether, in brief, the Communist had anywhere become more than a comfortable and independent day-laborer, and aspired to something higher than a mere bread-and-butter existence.” As to some of these points, the author must have been satisfied at an early stage of his researches: beauty of surroundings and breadth of intelligence were nowhere striking features of communistic life. This life was everywhere, save at a very few points, nakedly practical; and at these exceptional points, as in the case of the “spiritualism” of the Shakers, their celibacy, in a measure, as well, and in that of the interchangeableness of husbands and wives in the Oneida Community, the ideal element is singularly grotesque and unlovely. The Shakers and the Perfectionists have certainly not been broadened; whether they have been narrowed or not is a different question. Mr. Nordhoff inclines to believe not, and he constantly reminds us that, in judging the people he describes, we must be careful that we do not compare them with a high ideal. They are for the most part common, uneducated, unaspiring, and the question is whether they are not, for the most part, more complete and independent than if they had struggled along in individual obscurity and toil. They are certainly more prosperous and more comfortable, and if their ignorance has often hardened into queer, stiff, sterile dogmas, the sacrifice of intelligence has not been considerable. Even the Shakers have, indeed, a sort of angular poetry of their own, and the human creature for whom it was a possibility to become a Shaker doubtless wears in that garb a grace which would otherwise have been wanting.

Mr. Nordhoff's field was extensive, stretching as it does from Maine to Oregon, and southward down to Kentucky. It contains some eight distinct communistic societies, but these are composed of a large number of subdivisions; the Shakers alone having no less than fifty-eight settlements. Mr. Nordhoff begins with the Amana Society, whose present abode, or cluster of abodes, is in the State of Iowa. Like most of its fellows, with the exception of the Perfectionists and Shakers, this commune is of German origin. It established itself in this country in 1842; it contains something less than fifteen hundred members; it possesses twenty-five thousand acres of land; it has a rigidly religious character; it allows marriage, but keeps the sexes as much as possible apart, and thinks rather poorly of women. It supports itself by farming and by the manufacture of woollen stuffs; “lives well after the hearty German fashion, and bakes excellent bread”; has, indeed, at some seasons of the year five meals a day; keeps its affairs in very prosperous order, and finds an eager market for its produce of all kinds. Religion here, as in most of the communities, is of a strictly ascetic sort; they seem generally to find it needful to be girded up by some tight doctrinal bond. “Inspiration” is the *cheval de bataille* at Amana: the ministers, male and female, are called “instruments”; “the hymns are printed as prose, only the verses being separated.” This congregation seems to have produced upon the author a strong impression of easy thrift, of the “well-to-do.” Even better in this respect are the Rappists or Harmonists at Economy, near Pittsburgh. “Passing Liverpool, you come to Freedom, Jethro (whose houses are both lighted and heated with gas from a

natural spring near by), Industry, and Beaver.” You must feel yourself to be on the native soil of social experimentalism, and have a sort of sense of living in a scornfully conservative parody or burlesque. The experiment of Father Rapp, however, who came to America in 1803, and to this region in 1825, has been a solid, palpable success. The Harmonists, who number one hundred and ten persons, hold property to the amount of between two and three million of dollars. Mr. Nordhoff makes a point of the importance, in communistic ventures, of a strong-headed, strong-handed leader; and this, indeed, with a very definite religious tendency, seems essential to success. The Harmonists had both; and Father Rapp, the Moses who led them out their house of bondage (the kingdom of Württemberg), seems to have been a man of excellent sense and energy. He died in 1847, and, though he has had successors, the society is resting on its gains, making few recruits, and awaiting, in a sort of eventide tranquillity and security, the second coming of Christ. The Rappists are celibates; and that the institution has been successful with them may be inferred from Mr. Nordhoff's remark that he has “been assured by older members of the society, who have, as they say, often heard the period described by those who were actors in it, that this determination to refrain from marriage and from married life originated among the younger members.”

One is struck, throughout Mr. Nordhoff's book, with the existence in human nature of lurking and unsuspected strata, as it were, of asceticism, of the capacity for taking a grim satisfaction in dreariness. One would have been curious to have a little personal observation of these “younger members” who were so in love with the idea of single blessedness. “The joys of the celibate life,” says one of the author's Shaker informants, “are far greater than I can make you know. They are indescribable.” The Shakers, on this point, go further than the Catholic monks and nuns, who profess merely to find celibacy holy, and salutary to the spirit—not positively agreeable in itself. Mr. Nordhoff found in a Shaker Community near Rochester several French Canadians of the Catholic faith, and in another in Ohio several more Catholics, one of whom was a Spaniard and an ex-priest. A French Canadian Shaker strikes one as the most amusing imbroglia of qualities conceivable until one encounters the Spanish priest. One wonders how ineffable they deemed the joys of celibacy. At the village of Zoar, in Ohio, the author found a community of three hundred persons, of German origin, calling themselves “Separatists,” owning “over seven thousand acres of very fertile land,” together with other property, representing more than a million of dollars. “The Zoar Communists belong to the peasant class of Southern Germany. They are, therefore, unintellectual, and they have not risen in culture beyond their original condition. . . . The Zoarites have achieved comfort—according to the German peasant's notion—and wealth. They are relieved from severe toil, and have driven the wolf permanently from their doors. More they might have accomplished; but they have not been taught the need of more. They are sober, quiet, and orderly, very industrious, economical, and the amount of ingenuity and business skill they have developed is quite remarkable. Comparing Zoar and Aurora with Economy, I saw the extreme importance and value in such an experiment of leaders with ideas at least a step higher than those of their people.” The Zoarites disapprove of marriage, but they permit it, which seems rather an oddity. “Complete virginity,” say their articles of faith, “is more commendable than marriage.” It is also, of course, more economical, and, though the Communistic creeds generally do not say this, it is pretty generally what they mean. At Bethel and Aurora, however, two German Communes of four hundred members apiece, in Missouri and Oregon respectively, Mr. Nordhoff found marriage not discountenanced, and affairs in general fairly prosperous. Of Dr. Keil, a Prussian, the head of the society at Aurora, Mr. Nordhoff gives an interesting account. He had been a man-milliner in his own country, but his present character, in spite of these rather frivolous antecedents, is a very vigorous and sturdy one. Mr. Nordhoff stands with him beside the graves of his five children—all of whom he had lost between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one. “After a minute's silence he turned upon me with sombre eyes and said: ‘To bear all that comes upon us in silence, in quiet, without noise, or outcry, or excitement, or useless repining—that is to be a man, and that we can only do with God's help.’” Mr. Nordhoff gives further some account of several smaller and more struggling Communes—the Icarians, a French society in Iowa; a Swedish settlement, at Bishop Hill, in Illinois; a cluster of seven hopeful Russians (one of them a “hygienic doctor”) at Cedar Vale, in Kansas; and, lastly, of an experiment in Virginia, embodying as “full members” two women, one man, and three boys. The three boys have a great responsibility on their shoulders; we hope they are duly sensible of it. There is also a sketch of some colonies—

notably that of Mr. E. V. Boissière, of Bordeaux, in Kansas—not strictly communistic. Mr. Nordhoff thinks, with regard to this last settlement, that its members sacrifice too many of the advantages of private life without securing in a sufficient degree those of association.

The volume is largely occupied with a very complete and exhaustive report on the various Shaker settlements. Everything is told here about Shakerism that one could possibly desire to know. There are in the country eighteen societies, with something less than twenty-five hundred members, and possessing some fifty thousand acres of land. The Shakers seem to us by far the most perfect and consistent communists, and Mr. Nordhoff's account of them is very interesting. He explains everything indeed in the matter but one—how twenty-five hundred people, that is, can be found to embrace a life of such organized and theorized aridity. But to comprehend this one must reflect not only on what people take but on what they leave, and remember that there are in America many domestic circles in which, as compared with the dreariness of private life, the dreariness of Shakerism seems like boisterous gaiety. "It was announced," Mr. Nordhoff quotes from a Shaker record, "that the holy prophet Elisha was deputed to visit the Zion of God on earth. The time at length arrived. The people were grave, and concerned about their spiritual standing. Two female instruments from Canterbury, N. H., were at length ushered into the sanctuary. Their eyes were closed, and their faces moved in semi-gyrations. . . . One or two instances occurred in which a superhuman agency was indubitably obvious. One of the abnormal males lay in a building at some distance from the infirmary where the female instruments were confined." These few lines strike the note of Shaker civilization; and it requires no great penetration to perceive that it cannot be a very rich civilization. It proceeds, indeed, almost entirely by negatives. "The beautiful, as you call it," said Elder Frederick to Mr. Nordhoff, "is absurd and abnormal. It has no business with us." And he proceeded to relate how he had once been in a rich man's house in New York, where he had seen heavy picture-frames hung against the walls as "receptacles of dust." The great source of prosperity with the Shakers has evidently been their rigid, scientific economy, carried into minute details, and never contravened by the multiplication of children or non-producing members. Mr. Nordhoff says that they do not toil severely (this is his testimony as to most of the communes); but they work steadily, unremittingly, and, above all, carefully, and they spend nothing on luxury or pleasure. The author emphasizes strongly the excellent quality of their work and their produce (this, too, is a general rule), and the high esteem in which they are held as neighbors and fellow-citizens. They "avoid all speculative and hazardous enterprises. They are content with small gains, and in an old-fashioned way study rather to moderate their outlays than to increase their profits. . . . Their surplus capital they invest in land, or in the best securities, such as United States bonds." There is a kind of wholesome conservatism in the Shaker philosophy, as Mr. Nordhoff depicts it, which we confess rather takes our fancy. It is grotesque and perverted in many ways, but at its best points it is both the source and the fruit of a considerable personal self-respect. Mr. Nordhoff gives a number of long extracts from the publications of the Shakers expository of their religious views, from which it appears that they are "spiritualists" in the current sense of the term. But their manifestations and miracles strike us as rather feeble and third-rate. They ought to come up to town occasionally, and take a few lessons at some of the more enterprising repositories of the faith. They have, however, a sacrament of confession to their elders of evil thoughts and deeds which seems to us respectable from their own point of view. It is rigidly enforced, apparently, as far as is possible, and it is a testimony to their sense of the value of discipline. The more accomplished "spiritualists," we are afraid, don't confess. We think of the Shakers as sitting in their more brilliant moods "with their faces moving in semi-gyrations"; but we regret nevertheless to learn that their number is decidedly not increasing. That they do not continue to make recruits is perhaps a sign that family life among Americans at large is becoming more entertaining.

The most interesting, or at least the most curious, section of Mr. Nordhoff's book is his report on the Oneida Perfectionists:

"We have built us a dome  
On our beautiful plantation,  
And we have all one home,  
And one family relation."

If the lines we quoted just now gave the key-note of culture among the Shakers, this charming stanza gives the key-note of culture among the ladies and gentlemen at Oneida. The line we have italicized seems to us to have a delightful naïveté, shadowing forth as it does the fact that these ladies and gentlemen are all indifferently and interchangeably each other's husbands and wives. But Mr. Nordhoff chronicles many other facts besides

this; as that the ladies wear short hair, and jackets and trousers; that the community numbers nearly three hundred persons; that it is worth half a million of dollars; that it has "faith-cures"; and that it assembles on an evening in the parlor and devotes itself to "criticism" of a selected member. It is on a very prosperous footing, and it has in Mr. J. H. Noyes a very skilful and (as we suppose it would say) "magnetic" leader. Propagation is carefully limited, and there are, as may be imagined, many applications for admission. "If I should add," says Mr. Nordhoff, "that the predominant impression made upon me was that it was a commonplace company, I might give offence." Very likely; and the term is not the one we should select. Such a phenomenon as the Oneida Community suggests many more reflections than we have space for. Its industrial results are doubtless excellent; but morally and socially it strikes us as simply hideous. To appreciate our intention in so qualifying it the reader should glance at the account given by Mr. Nordhoff of the "criticism" he heard offered upon the young man Henry. In what was apparent here, and still more in what was implied, there seem to us to be fathomless depths of barbarism. The whole scene, and all that it rested on, is an attempt to organize and glorify the detestable tendency toward the complete effacement of privacy in life and thought everywhere so rampant with us nowadays. For "perfectionists" this is sadly amiss. But it is the worst fact chronicled in Mr. Nordhoff's volume, which, for the rest, seems to establish fairly that, under certain conditions and with strictly rational hopes, communism in America may be a paying experiment.

#### DEMOCRACY AND MONARCHY IN FRANCE.\*

PROFESSOR ADAMS says in his preface that he proposes to show in his book that "the present political character of the French people is the legitimate result of certain doctrines and habits that have been taking root in the nation during the past hundred years," and that "there is no more potent political truth than this, that the present has its roots running far back into the past, and that it draws its life from ideas and institutions that have gone before, just as certainly as the vegetation of to-day receives its nourishment from the decaying remains of preceding organic life"; that, in short, "while on the one hand the present is the child of the past, on the other it is in its turn to be the parent of the future." The failures of the French during the past century to establish any permanent form of government he ascribes to the growth and predominance of what he calls "the revolutionary spirit," and the revolutionary spirit he defines as "the claim of the ignorant and passionate multitude to sit in authoritative judgment on every act of the Government." He accordingly examines, under the guidance of this idea, the philosophy of the great Revolution, its politics, the rise of Napoleonism, the Restoration, the Ministry of Guizot, the Revolution of 1848, the Second Republic and Second Empire; and endeavors to prove that whatever was evil in the constitution of the Government during these periods, or whatever led to its overthrow and the trial of something else, was due in a greater or less degree to the assertion on the part of the ignorant and unthinking multitude of their right to solve summarily the fundamental problems of the national life. Mr. Adams works out his theory with abundant citation of authorities and illustration, in a style which is always clear and often impressive, and with a certain air of dogmatic dignity which is perhaps due to the fact that the book originated in a series of college lectures. To call it an historical study, would perhaps be misleading, for it makes no pretence to be impartial or tentative. The author produces at the outset a series of charges against the French nation, and proceeds to prove them, without any attempt to disguise the process. The result is perhaps not wholly satisfactory from the historical point of view, because the author naturally only adduces such facts and quotations as make for his own view, and naturally and inevitably passes over much which might weaken or blur his conclusions. But this fault, if it be a fault, is one inseparable from all attempts to expound what is called the philosophy of history. In the case of professed historians, like Mitford or Froude, who, besides preaching a certain political or social gospel, undertake to present a complete historical narrative, it becomes so serious as sometimes to call for the severest reprehension. But Mr. Adams does not place himself under the restraints of an ordinary historian, nor yet those of a simple historical student. What he offers is an essay to deal with perhaps the most remarkable phenomenon of contemporary politics from the historical standpoint; and those who will complain that he has colored his facts too highly or has sometimes seemed to arrange them to suit his argument, must bear in mind

\* *Democracy and Monarchy in France, from the Inception of the Great Revolution to the Overthrow of the Second Empire.* By Charles Kendall Adams, Professor of History in the University of Michigan. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1874.



that he is maintaining a thesis, and that if his book bears a strong resemblance to an historical narrative, it is due mainly to the fact that he draws his proofs from a whole century of extraordinary eventfulness.

In answer to the question, how has he succeeded? we should say that he has, even with the drawbacks above-mentioned—as doubtless some will call them, though we do not so consider them—produced a valuable example of the scientific mode of dealing with political problems, because his propositions with regard to the secrets of French disaster are really an induction from observed facts, whether from a sufficient or insufficient number of them, and are not—as so much of our philosophy of history is—a bundle of deductions from some *à priori* notion or prejudice evolved from the writer's social or religious training. It strikes a blow, which we heartily rejoice to see coming from a professor of history in a great university, at that common though widely-received newspaper explanation of political troubles in the Old World, and which the growth of both biological and sociological science has already made ridiculous to most educated men—that when a nation fails to attain the complete happiness which is supposed to result from popular government, it is due, not to anything wrong in the character of the citizens, but to the machinations of a small body of persons called “aristocrats” or “monarchists,” who are supposed to exert the same malign influence on the fortunes of an ingenuous, well-meaning, but simple-minded person called “the people” that Satan used to exercise on the strivings after holiness of the mediæval monks. The extirpation of this remnant of Rousseauism, as Mr. Adams shows it to be, is absolutely necessary, not only to sound thinking about foreign politics, but about our own. That government is the true product of the society governed, is an axiom which lies at the basis of all sound political reasoning. Treating bad government as something outside the people who live under it, is like treating an ulcer as a fetish, which has settled on the human body with the malignant design of annoying it or exhausting it.

Mr. Adams, as it seems to us, has produced from recent French history a strong case in support of the theory that a nation is at any given period the product of its historical antecedents; whether he has produced an equally strong one in support of the theory that France has been during the last century the victim of “the revolutionary spirit” may, perhaps, be questioned. The revolutionary spirit, as Mr. Adams defines it—that is, the desire of the ignorant and unthinking multitude to sit in judgment on every act of the government—may be said to exist in all countries. Undoubtedly, it has been stimulated to an unusual degree in France by the philosophy of the Revolution, which presented the whole past of the country to this same multitude as a gigantic and hideous mistake, and preached the possibility of erecting a new social and political structure without any reference to this past. But then this revolutionary spirit, after the revolutionary cataclysm was past, and the political system of the country had been placed on a new basis, undoubtedly disappeared among the peasantry, who are to-day the most conservative population in Europe. It grew in the cities, and especially in the greatest of the cities—Paris; but it would there have been powerless as regarded the government, as it is in England or Prussia, but for the one feature of the old régime which the Revolution left standing—the centralization of the machinery of administration. It is this which both enables the Paris mob to exert the malign influence on the national fortunes which Mr. Adams has so well described, and tempts them to exert it. Given such centralization, such a mob, and such a destruction of political habits and of provincial centres of responsibility as the Revolution wrought, and the history of such a country may almost be predicted.

*Life and Labors of Mr. Brassey.* 1865-1870. By Sir Arthur Helps, K.C.B. With a preface to the American Edition by the author. (Boston: Roberts Bros. 1874.)—In these days, when the methods of railway construction excite so much attention, the record of the life and labors of one of the greatest railway-builders of the century has special interest. With our recent experience fresh in mind, from the war down to the Crédit-Mobilier and the California Contract and Finance Company, there are some of the elements of romance in the story of a contractor who always performed his contract, profitable or unprofitable, and who in building for other people thousands of miles of railroad retained an average profit of only three per cent. on the money passing through his hands. It is not often that there comes to a man the felicity both of being a pioneer of new discovery in civilization, and of seeing the works he tended in infancy grow to complete development and spread to universal use within his lifetime. Yet Thomas Brassey, like Professor Morse in the case of the telegraph, had this rare fortune. He was engaged with George Stephenson in building the

Newton and Birmingham line in 1834, one of the earliest railways constructed in England. When he died in 1870, the world had in operation one hundred and eighteen thousand miles of railway, and land transportation had been revolutionized. Mr. Brassey's personal share in this work may be appreciated from the statement that at different times he was engaged in building six thousand six hundred miles of railway, in England, France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Austria, Denmark, India, Canada, and South America; that he disbursed in their construction nearly four hundred millions of dollars; and that he had at times in his employ, directly or indirectly, an army of eighty thousand laborers. His character as sketched by his biographer was most estimable. Honest, faithful, just, kind-hearted, modest, not greedy of gain, he seems to have been a type of contractor not often produced in any country.

This biography is an admirable bit of book-making. Mr. Brassey's private life was uneventful. His public career may be almost summed up by the enumeration of the railways he aided in building. The engineering and administrative triumphs won in constructing a railway excite as a rule very little public interest after the work is done. Yet Sir Arthur Helps—although, as he says, without special qualifications for the task, and relying almost exclusively upon material furnished by others—has so handled his subject as to give us a book which will interest those who never heard of Mr. Brassey and who care nothing for railroads or public works. The simple charm of his style makes even his most commonplace remarks pleasant reading. To be sure, one has a feeling sometimes that the gold is beaten about as thin as it will bear, as, for example, in the chapter on Mr. Brassey's wealth, when the solitary fact at its close reveals how very little there really was to say. But it is ungracious to criticise the poverty of fact when the compiler works up so faithfully all that he has. Perhaps the most instructive portion of the book is the careful comparison between the English, French, Italian, and German labor employed by Mr. Brassey; and some of the remarks on his experience in building the Grand Trunk line in Canada are also fresh and striking. What we miss altogether is those facts connected with Mr. Brassey's labors which at the present time in this country would have the most interest and the most value. In all the chapters devoted to railroads built in Europe and America, the financial arrangements for executing such great works are almost unmentioned. The life of Mr. Brassey ought to have special interest for business men, yet the part which business men would most like to know is passed over in silence. Here was a great contractor, of acknowledged integrity, actively interested in placing before governments and before the public schemes which required and sought co-operation, capital, and subscriptions far and near. On what basis financially were these various roads built? What was the public asked to do? How and in what form did the contractor get back his principal and receive his profits? We conclude from such knowledge as we have, and from hints dropped occasionally in the book, that the methods adopted by Mr. Brassey were not substantially different from some which in this country have excited much indignation and abuse, particularly in the West. We regret that the author was either unable or unwilling to treat of these points. We must add, too, that his closing chapter on Railways and Government Control contributes little or nothing to the discussion of a question which is confessedly among the weightiest of our time.

*History of England from the year 1830-1874*, by William Nassau Molesworth, M.A., Vicar of Spotland, Rochdale. New edition. Three volumes. (London: Chapman & Hall; New York: Scribner, Welford & Armstrong. 1874.)—The first edition of this history appeared in 1871; the author, who is a clergyman, being already favorably known for his ‘History of the Reform Bill of 1832.’ An extract from a speech of Mr. John Bright's is printed on the fly-leaf, commending the work, in strong and justifiable terms, to such young Englishmen as wish to know “the history of their country nearest their own times,” or, in other words, the period they are least acquainted with. There is probably nobody, whether writer for the press, or teacher, or merely political student, who has not experienced the inconvenience of being unable to lay his hands on a good compendium of recent political history. The last half century is usually the period which ambitious historians shirk, and it is apt to be left to be done piecemeal, by catchpenny writers or compilers, who dress up episodes to meet the immediate and passing demands of the popular market. Mr. Molesworth has endeavored, and very successfully, to supply this want as regards England, in the three volumes before us, in which the facts are, to use Mr. Bright's language, “plainly and truly stated.” There is little or no attempt at philosophizing; the author maintains from first to last the steady pace of a veracious chronicler, in a simple, clear, and unadorned

style, and without any attempt at the "dignity of history." He treats no event, from an accession to the throne, or the public funeral of a hero, down to a murder or robbery which excited much public attention at the time, as beneath his notice, and they are all to be found in his book. His expressions of opinion are careful and restrained, and his opinions of course are those of a moderate Liberal. We can hardly point to any history of recent appearance which the political student will find better worthy of perusal, because it tells one of the most instructive stories in the annals of the human race—the conversion of a feudal society into a modern democratic one by the process of peaceful discussion. We do not know where to look for anything like it. The process by which the middle class in England got possession of the government in 1832, the use they have made of their power in the reform of the administrative machinery, of the system of taxation, of the municipal and colonial governments, of the administration of justice; in the provision of popular education and of relief for the poor; in the amelioration of the condition of the military and naval service, and in the final admission of the working-classes to the franchise, stands and must always stand among the most interesting and hopeful phenomena in the history of human progress.

*The Land of the White Elephant.* A Personal Narrative of Travel and Adventure in Farther India; embracing the countries of Burma, Siam, Cambodia, and Cochin-China (1871-72). By Frank Vincent, Jr. (New York: Harper & Bros.)—Mr. Vincent's journeying in Southeastern Asia lasted just a year, and but a small portion of it was off the common routes. The chief opportunity which he had of making novel observations was in travelling overland (if that can be said of a nearly all-water passage) from Bangkok to Saigon, when he was enabled to visit the wonderful ruins of Angkor, and to have an audience with the King of Cambodia, as previously with the Kings of Ava and Siam. While it may be doubted if this part or even the sum of his experience was worth a book of the dimensions of the present, it is still true that not so much has been written about the curious civilization of Farther India, and its architectural remains, as to make it difficult for the latest visitor to bring back an interesting tale. This Mr. Vincent has done without betraying any peculiar qualifications as a tourist or as an author; in a literary sense, indeed, his work is susceptible of great improvement, as we may see when he publishes, as perhaps he intends, a narrative of his other travels in the East. The title which he has chosen well enough embraces the countries which he skirted, but the "white elephant" hardly figures in his pages to the extent which might have been expected: in this respect recalling, but certainly not equalling, Mr. Pike's 'Land of the Aphanapteryx.' The King of Ava's elephant is thus described:

"The Mandalay animal I found to be a male of medium size, with white eyes, and a forehead and ears spotted white, appearing as if they had been rubbed with pumice-stone or sand-paper; but the remainder of the body was as 'black as a coal.' He was a vicious brute, chained by the fore-legs in the centre of a large shed, and was surrounded with the 'adjuncts of royalty'—gold and white cloth umbrellas, an embroidered canopy above, and some bundles of spears in the corners of the room. The attendants told me that a young one . . . was suckled by twelve women hired for the express purpose; these elephant 'wet-nurses' receiving 30 reals per measure, and thinking it a great honor to serve in such capacity."

This is suckling extraordinary, but the custom of the country in this respect is apt to excite comment from strangers. Mr. Vincent says: "I have frequently seen babes at their mother's breast alternating the nourishment of 'Nature's Nile' with pulls and puffs at their cheroots." So inseparable is their cheroot from the Burmese, from babyhood to manhood, that the men often utilize the holes made in their ears for ornaments, where these are wanting, by putting their cheroots in them; and so with "any small article in frequent use." The famous fruit called the *dorian* has been many times judged and generally condemned by the Western taste. Mr. Vincent reports that the smell of it "when first opened is like stale fish, and when eaten the flavor is like raw onions, leaving a nauseating garlic taste in the mouth. However, notwithstanding its rank odor, many European residents in the East profess to like the *dorian*; but we thought its primary, intervening, and final taste most unsavory—nay, even extremely disgusting."

The illustrations of 'The Land of the White Elephant' are numerous and good, being all from photographs. Cities, temples, idols, elephants, and natives of high and low degree are the principal subjects of them. The author has further done his duty by his readers in giving them serviceable maps and plans.

*XVIII<sup>me</sup> Siècle: Institutions, Usages et Costumes: France, 1700-1789.* Par Paul Lacroix (Bibliophile Jacob). (Paris: Firmin-Didot Frères:

New York: F. W. Christern.)—Pertaining to a kind of publication in which only a single nation of the world excels, this book is one of the series to which the author's 'Moyen-Age' and 'Renaissance' belonged, and like them presents the cream of the antiquarian's collections skilfully reproduced in popular form, and at a price not unreasonable, the inherent expensiveness of the method being considered. Here are a score of illuminated pages not greatly inferior to the tinted pages of rare vellums, or rather, in the present case, to the camaïeu and aquatint prints of the period—prints which the perfection of modern methods rather improves than spoils in the quotation; besides the colored plates, a luxury of cuts or *bois* amounting to some hundreds. One really need not be at the pains to collect rare prints of this kind when he can obtain thus the most curious of a professed collector's prizes, set forth in the happiest order and most illustrative way. The text supplied by M. Lacroix is best characterized by the publishers when they affirm that it is executed with the same care and the same tact as his previous works, and that it may be placed without danger "entre toutes les mains"—a concession to the "young person's" cheeks that is far from unnecessary when the period of Louis XV. is under consideration. The historic epoch thus committed to the hands of sensibility and the eye of taste begins, though, safely enough, in a period of piety mitigated by ennui; the Grand Monarch is pining under the velvet glove of Maintenon, and the arts which he had fostered have dwindled down to a few representations of the histories of Esther and Athaliah enacted by the young ladies of St. Cyr. A succeeding reign of profligacy, however, soon enough revenges this monotony, and, while rich bankers are allowed to ruin themselves in conducting the expensive theatricals of the court, we are permitted to see the costly and incredible dresses in which the great rôles of Voltaire were played by petted comedians. In that poet's 'Orphan of China,' the costume of Idamé comprises enormous hoops, undulating over Turkish trousers, and a powdered head nodding with prodigious feathers; Mme. Vestris crowns the bust of Voltaire in a "shape" intended for Irene, her petticoat so prodigiously distended as to make her appear broader than she is long, and festooned around with wall-of-Troy borders; a Lekain plays Merope in a velvet turban heaped with white plumes, his fine eyes glancing over a shoulder covered with ermine; the silhouette of Juno is that of a dinner-bell; a male Zephyr has a skirt puffed into the shape of a dome; and, besides him, other male characters, demons, Neptunes, Eastern kings and African soldiers, have petticoats or kilts, short indeed, but expressing the widest imaginable angle in spherical trigonometry. The equally strange figures who form the audience for these artists—the abbés of the card-tables, "who never had any abbey," the literary ladies who give audiences from the balustrades of their beds, the marquis who takes a needle-case from his pocket and completes the embroidery of a flower in a lady's tambour-frame, and the pert soldiers of Watteau's paintings, whose "gallantry" was altogether of a carpet sort—revolve through these pictorial pages like a world of marionettes. The coronation of Louis XV., from a work by D'Ullin, of the Royal Academy of Painting, shows similar masquerade figures in a moment of the most intense solemnity of which they were capable. The boyish king, then celebrated for his comeliness, wearing the crown of Charlemagne, clothed in purple with golden lilies, and carrying the sceptre and hand of justice; the Archbishop of Reims leading the king to the throne by his right hand, the six laic and six ecclesiastical peers variously robed in gold tissue—they are all graceful and decorous; but the permeating levity of the age gives the whole group the air of a troop of sylphs conducting some attenuated rites round the circumference of a fan. What is a great deal more human and pleasant is the bourgeois life of the day, the smart shoppers and promenaders in the *Galerie du Bois du Palais*, as seen in Gravelot's color-study, the chambermaids and happy burgher portraits of Chardin, and the family pieties, sincere if a little self-conscious, of Greuze. M. Lacroix is honest, and frequently turns the medal, following up the white-satin *bergades* of Boucher with an old print representing a real peasant, enveloped to his heels so as to be a mere walking cloak, and no more idyllic than a saddle of mutton. We render the thanks of utter satiety after turning, without counting them, the innumerable illustrations of this work, a little rebellious, we must confess, at its appalling completeness, which does not spare us a fashionable curl of a wig or a bow of an "anglomane" bonnet. Surely, France reverences old times in a way that Carlyle would identify with worship of old clothes.

## BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	Publishers.—Prices.
Almanach de Gotha, 1875.	(B. Westermann & Co.)
Cohn (G.), Streiftagen der Eisenbahnpolitik, swd.	(L. W. Schmidt)
Copen (N.), The History of Democracy, Vol. I.	(Am. Pub. Co.)
Channing (Rev. W. E.), Works.	(Am. Unit. Ass.) \$1 00
Dana (Prof. J. D.), Text-book of Geology, 2d ed.	(Iverson, Blakeman & Co.)
Eates (D.), Half-hour Recreations in Popular Science.	(Eates & Lauriat) 2 50
Fleber (Dr. F.), Treatment of Nervous Diseases by Electricity.	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 6 75



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